

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY  
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# The American Observer

*A free, virtuous, and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends.—James Monroe*

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## America's Resources Dwindling Rapidly

**Ickes Warns Nation to Conserve Vital Materials or Face Disaster in Future**

**WAR HAS DEPLETED U. S. SUPPLIES**

**Waste Must Be Abolished, Stockpiles Built up in Order to Provide for Our Future Needs**

The American people have recently been warned by two prominent leaders that their natural wealth is on the decline and that, if proper steps are not taken, the United States may become a second-rate nation. One of these leaders is Bernard Baruch, who holds no official position in the government, but who has been advising Presidents and members of Congress for many years. The other leader is Harold Ickes, who has been Secretary of the Interior ever since the late President Roosevelt first came into office in 1933.

Mr. Baruch issued his warning while he was appearing before a Senate Committee a little more than a week ago. He said:

"I do not wish to say we are not as good as we think we are, but don't forget we Americans think we are awfully good. We think America is a horn of plenty—an inexhaustible source of wealth. I have been hearing things about depletion of our oil and of our soil. I think we ought to find out."

According to Mr. Baruch, our government should take immediate steps to check on this country's natural resources in order to see where we stand. It should make a survey of our minerals, our forests, and our fertile soil. Unless we do this, he says, and then plan to conserve our remaining natural wealth in the most scientific manner, there is danger that "we will sink and the whole world will go down with us."

### Ickes' Warning

Secretary of the Interior Ickes expresses his views on this subject in the December issue of *The American Magazine*. His article is entitled "The War and Our Vanishing Resources." He points out that we have drawn tremendously upon our natural wealth to win the war, and warns that we are running short of a number of minerals which have made our nation great. He urges that every possible step be taken without delay to make our remaining resources last as long as we can, and to discover and develop new materials as substitutes for our exhausted supplies. In pointing out the importance of this matter, he says:

"Without mineral resources, the United States could never have built the ships, the planes, and the guns which have made us the greatest military power in the world. We could never have been more than an agricultural country. We could never have been able to support, at a standard of living that is the envy of the world,

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Young Chinese Communist officers. In the background is a portrait of their leader, Mao Tse-tung.

## World Uneasy Over Civil War in China

**Growing Struggle Between Forces of Nationalists and Communists Is Serious**

**ORIGINS OF CONFLICT REVIEWED**

**Deep-Seated Cleavage Seen. Truce Maintained only by Common Opposition to Japan**

The outbreak of new fighting between Communist and Nationalist troops in 11 Chinese provinces has served notice to the world that the old differences dividing China may be settled only by civil war. Ever since Japan's surrender, peace between the two factions has hung upon negotiations and tentative agreements. Now, however, the unwillingness of the Communists to surrender territory to the Nationalists as Russia withdraws her forces from Manchuria and other critical northern areas has touched off the struggle anew.

To understand the meaning of the present conflict, one must go back to the revolution in which China broke away from the decayed forms of her ancient civilization and set out on the long, hard road to modern nationhood. In the revolution of 1911, the Chinese people overthrew the corrupt Manchu dynasty under which they had lived for four centuries. But they did not succeed immediately in replacing the old forms of government, economic organization, and social life with stable new ones, understood and accepted by all the people.

### The Chinese Revolution

China's revolutionary leaders aimed at the establishment of a republican democracy, a modern economic system roughly along western lines, and a new set of social habits and customs in keeping with their first two objectives. They wanted the Chinese people to be politically aware, so that they could run their own affairs rather than leave them in the hands of a small and corrupt official class. They wanted them to be able to raise their standard of living by industrialization. They wanted them to have education and freedom from the social taboos which had kept the vast majority of them in poverty and ignorance.

But, in struggling for these things, Sun Yat-sen, China's prime revolutionary leader and first president, confronted tremendous obstacles. With the downfall of the Manchus, his country was a welter of conflicting interests. The long oppressed peasants cared for nothing but the idea of seizing land for themselves. Businessmen and officials who had been prominent under the old regime wanted a government which would increase their power and influence. Many workers favored a communist order which would give them the upper hand. Very few among Sun's follow-

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## Thanksgiving 1945

By Walter E. Myer

Despite the continued strife and fearful uncertainty in the world today, the great majority of American people still have much to be thankful for on this first Thanksgiving since the war. Above all else, of course, is the fact that the tragic world conflict has come to an end. No longer are American families receiving the terrible shock of learning about the deaths of their beloved ones overseas. No longer are they living in daily fear that the fatal telegram from the War or Navy Departments will be delivered to them.

While many Americans have suffered bitterly from the war, the nation as a whole may be thankful that our land has been untouched by invading armies and devastating bombs. Our homes, farms, and industries have not been destroyed. For having shared in victory without experiencing the ravages of war at home, the country must be grateful.

At the same time, there is need for all of us to be thoughtful. We may well ask ourselves, "Are we showing our appreciation for peace and victory by doing everything possible to prevent another war? Are we working together, as individuals, to make this a better land? Are we doing our part to make things go smoothly in our homes, schools, and communities? Or are we shrugging off serious thoughts, devoting ourselves mostly to having a good time and to seeking selfish gains?"

Another thing for us to think about, at this Thanksgiving time, is the plight of people in other lands. We can be thankful that we have enough good food to sustain our bodies; that we have clothes and fuel to keep us well and comfortable in the winter months. But we must not forget that there are others who, due to the war and other causes, are suffering the most terrible hardships. Are we doing all that we can or should do to help them?

I do not mean to suggest, in raising these questions, that we should neglect our traditional ways of observing Thanksgiving—the turkey dinners, football games, and all the rest. But if we are really to show our thankfulness in the spirit of Christianity, November 22 must be more than a day of hearty eating and pleasure.

It should be a time in which we resolve to use these months of peace in efforts to make our world a better, safer, and happier place in which to live.

Thanks to the sacrifices and heroism of millions of fighting men, there is still hope in the world. We live in a period of chaos, it is true, but also in a challenging world. We may regret that there is widespread insecurity, sorrow, and conflict, but at least our victory gives us another chance to build a better world.

# World Anxious Over Civil War in China

(Concluded from page 1)

ers were able to look at the problems of the new government from a truly national point of view.

In addition, those who wanted a well-developed modern democracy in China were handicapped by the ignorance of the people and by the strong hold foreign interests still maintained over the country. Centuries of backwardness and disorganization had left the Chinese people unfitted for an immediate plunge into self-government. And the entire country was overrun with foreign interests—economic holdings and special political rights won by western nations and individuals in the period of China's earlier weakness.

Immediately after the revolution, these factors combined to produce chaos in China. Unable to resolve the differences of native interests or to install a full-fledged democratic government, China's republican leaders maintained a precarious hold on the reins of power while roving warlords constituted the real authority over much of the country.

Still another factor added to China's unrest and disunity—the Russian Revolution of 1917, which touched off a wave of communist sentiment among the people. The people, for the most part, understood communism no better than they had understood democracy, but they were inspired by the success of their Russian neighbors in overthrowing native oppressors, expelling foreign interference, and beginning to set up a wholly new order. And their feelings were further stimulated by numbers of communist agents who canvassed the country trying to win support for the Soviet cause.

Since both Russia and China were struggling for revolutionary ends, which the outside world viewed with hostility, it was not surprising that a certain amount of friendship developed between the two countries. Russia made an agreement with Sun Yat-sen, pledging cooperation in China's revolutionary aims. Sun Yat-sen agreed to admit communists to his government.

By the time of Sun's death in 1925, China's political struggles had resolved themselves into a conflict between communist aims and purposes and those of moderate nationalists. Finally, however, when Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek had emerged as the country's new leader, China was the closest she had been to peace since the revolution, with most of the warring factions united in a coalition government.

In 1927, however, Chiang suddenly turned on the communists and expelled them from his government. This opened a new period of near civil war. Chiang's government pursued the communists relentlessly, organizing ruthless purges to break their leadership and force them into line with his own policies.

The communists, for their part, were unwilling to surrender their ideas. They went underground and set up a separate provisional government of their own in the wastelands of southeastern China. The conflict continued until the early 1930's, when the communists, overwhelmed by the superior strength of the national government, gave up their hold on the southeastern provinces and marched 6,000 miles to the desert regions of northern Shensi.

Here they set up a government of

their own and began to build a separate state. Led by Mao Tse-tung, a veteran of Chinese revolutionary struggles, they organized cooperatively to render the soil of their barren new homeland productive. They built up an army to resist further Nationalist attempts to bring them under the authority of the central government.

Further large-scale struggles between the communists and the Nationalists were interrupted by the menace of Japan. Seizing Manchuria in 1931, the Japanese had made it clear that they would take advantage of China's continued disunity by taking over her territories themselves. Nevertheless, it was not until 1937, when the Japanese reached into China for the second time, that China was able to rise to her own defense.

Even then, the common effort did not produce unity. Accusing each

of China's 450,000,000 people. In the course of the wartime negotiations, Chiang offered the communists equal representation with his own party in a coalition government. He promised free elections immediately after the war. He even suggested that communist and government troops be combined under the command of an American general. But the communists, fearful that if they surrendered their troops to any authority but their own Chiang would again overwhelm them, refused all offers.

As the war with Japan ended, the world waited tensely to see whether outright civil war would flame over China. The question was one whose significance touched delicate international issues on every hand. For one thing, Russia's part in a Chinese civil war could not be predicted. Although it was generally conceded that the

threaten the peace of the entire world.

The Sino-Russian treaty, signed last summer between the Chiang government and Russia, dispelled many of these fears. It also stimulated the most determined effort yet made to settle the differences of Nationalists and communists without bloodshed. Russia's pledge of friendship to the Chiang Kai-shek regime, accompanied by her promise that she would respect the territorial integrity of Manchuria and the other sections occupied by her troops, removed communist hope of aid from the north if they should attempt a civil war.

Soon Mao Tse-tung was in Chungking conferring with Generalissimo Chiang, and, for a time, it looked as though the two had at last come to an agreement. Mao seemed ready to surrender his forces to Nationalist control in exchange for Chiang's assurances that a new constitution would be drawn up, that elections would be held, and the communists would be given adequate representation in a coalition government.

But the whole problem was never settled. The central government claimed that it should have the right to appoint governors for the northern provinces controlled by communists throughout the war; the communists opposed the idea. Over this and numerous other issues, the two factions deadlocked again.

Then, as Russia prepared to withdraw her troops from Manchuria and the other zones she had occupied, the critical question arose: Would the communists permit Nationalist forces to move in? And behind this question lay a still more ominous one. What would the Russians and Americans do in the event of conflict over the Nationalist occupation?

The first question was quickly answered. Communists in 11 rich northern provinces offered violent resistance to Nationalist attempts to take over the strategic railways and industrial installations under their control. Their justification for refusing remained the same as their argument for refusing to join the central government during the war. They asserted that they had no adequate guarantees that the Chiang regime would respect their interests.

American marines, lined up 50,000 strong in North China, at first seemed to answer the second question by lending their strength to Nationalist forces. With their aid, Nationalist control was reestablished at several strategic points. Although the marines were not actively fighting with the Nationalists, they were contributing by helping to move troops from South China to the disputed areas.

Now, however, the report is that the United States will withdraw from the troubled areas with all forces by December 5. Although this will not prevent civil strife from breaking out, it may at least prevent China's internal differences from becoming the cause of a new, all-out international struggle. As this is written, the possibilities of a Chinese civil war are painfully great. Russia, however, appears to be continuing her policy of non-intervention in the matter, and it is hoped that if we withdraw and adopt the same kind of policy, the old conflict may be settled without affecting the harmony of the big powers.



Chinese woman and child

other of collaboration with the Japanese, the two factions resisted the external enemy separately, the communists refusing to place their forces at the disposal of the central government unless their demands were met and the Chiang government refusing to accept communist terms for cooperation.

As the war dragged along, repeated efforts were made to close the breach, on one side of which were an estimated 80,000,000 communists and on the other side of which were the rest

Soviet government had strictly avoided intervening in China's affairs by refusing to give support to the communists, many feared that she might use a conflict between them and the national government as an excuse for bringing important areas of China within her orbit. The fact that the American and British governments had always supported Chiang against the communists gave rise to fears that the opening of a civil war might bring Russian interests and our own into conflict in a way which would



## China—The Land and the People

CHINA proper—that is, China without her great loosely held provinces such as Sinkiang and Tibet—is a country about two-thirds as large as the United States. It is spread across the central part of Asia as the United States stretches over the central part of North America, and China, like our own country, is a land of temperate climate bounded by cold regions on the north and warm ones on the south.

On her eastern coast, China faces the ocean, but the west is lost amid towering mountains and endless dusty plains. The only large cities, the only industrial centers, are found in the east, toward which, also, the great rivers flow. Between west and east is a vast region of mountainous farmlands, irrigated valleys, and brown plains—a region where the river, canal, rutted road, and footpath are a more common medium of communication than the railroad and highway.

China can be divided into fairly well-defined regions. The most clearest separation is between north and south, and the dividing line follows generally along the valley of the Yangtze River. South of this line is Green China; north is Brown China.

The green of South China is the vivid green of the rice fields. Rice is the universally cultivated crop in this region, for the rainfall is plentiful and the air is moist and warm almost the year round. From the air South China looks like a giant green carpet made of tiny patches painfully and intricately fitted together. The patches are minute because the individual holdings of land in China are small.

Rice is the wealth and sustenance of South China, but it is not the only crop. Tea leaves, carefully plucked from the tea shrub by nimble fingers, are another; silk, taken from the

cocoon of the worm that clings to the mulberry tree, is still another. Fruits and vegetables are also grown in considerable quantities.

North of the Yangtze, the green countryside dies away quite suddenly into brown, except for a momentary revival where the Yellow River plunges its treacherous way toward the sea. North China is a region of plains, both fertile and barren, and of bare mountains. It is an area beset alternately with prolonged droughts and devastating floods.

But despite the unfriendliness of the climate, North China is a region of great production. The area near the coast, the famous North China Plain, is one of the most densely populated and most intensively cultivated parts of the country. Wheat, barley, beans, kaoliang (a kind of sorghum), millet, cotton, soybeans, and tobacco are among the great crops.

As we go westward in North China, moving toward the deserts of central Asia, we come to the Loess Highlands, one of the strangest regions in the world. The land is covered by a fine-blown dust laid down ages ago by strong mysterious winds. This loess is almost as fine as talcum powder, dry, porous, and rich. It yields abundantly where there is water to irrigate it.

Three great river systems roll down from the mountains of western China to empty into the sea. They are the life-blood of China's soil, as well as the chief arteries of commerce. Through the northern plains pours the giant Hwang Ho, the Yellow River. It is known as "China's Sorrow," for it often causes flood and famine. In the south is the West River.

But by far the most important river is the tremendous Yangtze, which has dominated and molded the life of

China. More than 3,000 miles long, it is open to ocean-going vessels for 600 miles, and boats of shallower draft may push half way up its length. The Yangtze is the great interior highway of China.

It is the land of China which is the soul and strength of the country, providing the livelihood of the overwhelming majority of the people. Industrial possibilities are limited by the lack of extensive mineral resources. Coal is the only leading mineral produced in abundance, although there are also good deposits of iron ore and copper. There is almost no oil.

China is also a land without great forests. There are trees, of course, but most of the good timberland has been cut over and wasted without thought of conservation. It is this lack of forests that has caused erosion and floods.

Wherever you go in China there are people, crowding the land, wearing it, working it, with the shuffle of their feet and the labor of their hands. The population is generally estimated at 450,000,000—about one-fifth of the world's total. Every region in the country is tightly packed with more people than it can properly support.

Because of this overcrowding and because of China's backwardness, the lot of the millions of Chinese is hard work, poverty, and ignorance. Only a few—even in normal times—enjoy what might be called a good life; only a few can read and write.

Whether they labor on the farms, act as carriers of commerce, or work in the cities, the Chinese face the necessity of working from dawn till dark. China is too poor a country to afford much machinery, and food is too precious to support many animals. So man is the worker, the draft animal,

the machine. And his lot is made doubly hard because he still uses the primitive wooden plow, the bamboo rake, the waterwheel.

The problem of modernizing China and remedying these backward conditions is made extremely difficult because of the lack of good transportation facilities. It is exceedingly hard to get about in China. So much physical labor and discomfort are involved that people stay home. This has kept north and south divided; it has even divided people within fairly small regions.

Language, too, offers its difficulties. China has a common written language, but the people themselves speak many different dialects. The farmers of north and south have as little in common, and have as hard a time understanding each other, as the French and Italians do.

Finally, progress has been difficult in China because of the rigidity of tradition and custom. Most of the people live in small villages sprinkled in innumerable quantity over the land. These villages are the principal unit of life in China, and the large and closely knit family is the unit of the village. Within the family, ancestors are venerated, old people are respected and obeyed. The teachings of Confucius, which are followed by many of the people, strengthen this backward-looking attitude.

Under the impact of the war, however, village and family life are beginning to change. In hundreds of formerly isolated communities, small co-operative industries have been established. And the younger generation throughout the country is stirring with ideas of a new China which will make progress that was impossible for the old.

# The Story of the Week

## The Labor Conference

Two things have thus far hindered the Labor-Management Conference through which President Truman has hoped to find a way of avoiding future industrial strife. First of all, the Conference, bringing together leaders of the nation's three big union groups—the CIO, the AFL, and the United Mine Workers—has brought old labor rivalries out into the open. Secondly, the conferees have disagreed on just what it is they propose to decide.

John L. Lewis' insistence that his organization, the UMW, be given a place on the Conference executive committee provoked a quarrel with the CIO delegates. CIO objections centered on the idea that Lewis would vote with the AFL and thus overshadow the CIO. Lewis, however, won his point.

The big issue on Conference policy on which the delegates disagreed was how wage increases should be discussed. While not attempting to force management into specific promises on wages, the CIO has been trying to wrest from management a commitment that some kind of increases will be given. What CIO leaders would like to see the Conference work out is a yardstick, whereby wage increases might be measured according to their effect on prices and to the increase in living costs. Management feels that no such definite commitment should be given at the Conference. At the other extreme, John L. Lewis has held out for a pledge of wage increases which would not be so closely tied to price and profit considerations.

## Stassen on the Atom

A world pool of military planes equipped with atomic bombs is former Minnesota Governor Harold E. Stassen's answer to the twin problems of controlling the use of atomic power and preserving the peace. Stassen feels that five bomber squadrons and 10 fighter squadrons each carrying a single atomic bomb, should be distributed at five points around the globe as an international police force under United Nations authority.

Representatives of all the United Nations would man the atomic bomb air force. No more than one-fifth of



**LABOR PROBLEMS DISCUSSED.** Principal speakers at the opening session of the labor-management conference in Washington were (left to right): Secretary of Commerce Henry A. Wallace; North Carolina Supreme Court Justice Walter P. Stacy, chairman of the meeting; Secretary of Labor Lewis Schwellenbach. Standing (left to right): William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor; Eric Johnston, president of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce; Ira Mosher, president of the National Association of Manufacturers; Philip Murray, president of the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

its members would be drawn from a single national group. It would be financed by a small tax on international travel.

As a further guarantee that atomic power would not be used for aggressive purposes, Stassen suggested a UNO ban on the manufacture of atomic bombs by any country. He would have the United Nations establish an atomic commission to enforce these provisions and supervise all further atomic research. By placing the atomic secret under the strict control of UNO, Stassen feels that the Allied nations can prevent its use in war and convert it into an invincible safeguard for peace.

## Food Prospects

For the people of the United States, wartime food shortages are virtually at an end, according to Secretary of Agriculture Clinton B. Anderson. Meat rationing is expected to stop by the end of the year, at which time the supply of most food items available to civilians will probably exceed the pre-war supply.

For the people of Europe and Asia,

the food picture is less bright. Although this country will have sent about 4,500,000 tons of food to Britain and the liberated countries of Europe and North Africa by the end of the last quarter of this year—50 per cent more than was sent in the previous quarter—the hungry overseas can look forward to no more than a subsistence diet.

As Secretary Anderson pointed out, the main difficulty holding up our food shipments to needy countries is no longer lack of supply. Financial obstacles are now the big problem. Except for a limited amount of food distributed to foreign civilians by military occupation authorities, most of the food we ship abroad must be paid for either by foreign governments or by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

The governments of the liberated countries are, of course, too poor to make extensive food purchases. The other source of food relief funds—UNRRA—has been handicapped by Congress' reluctance to grant the money pledged as this country's contribution. The \$550,000,000 pledged to UNRRA would constitute 60 per cent of its total funds for supplies. Without it, UNRRA administrator Herbert H. Lehman fears that the organization cannot do its job. But Congress has been holding out against an unqualified grant. The House wishes to grant the money on condition that it will be used only in countries which put up no barriers to the gathering and distribution of news concerning UNRRA activities—a qualification which would keep the agency out of several needy countries.

## Election Results

Election day is seldom an exciting occasion during odd-numbered years like 1945, for most important federal and state officials are chosen in even-numbered years. This year, however, the New York City mayoralty contest added excitement to an otherwise dull electoral scene.

The election of William O'Dwyer as administrative chief of the nation's largest city brings to an end 12 years of New York political life which have

been at the same time among the most colorful and the most progressive in the city's history. Besides establishing himself as one of the most spectacular personalities to dominate the New York scene, outgoing Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia chalked up a unique record of good government during his four terms of office.

His original election swept from power the notorious Tammany Hall Democratic machine which had governed the city with few interruptions since the late 19th century. O'Dwyer's election on the Tammany and American Labor Party tickets has aroused fears that the old days of graft and corruption may return. But O'Dwyer himself has an excellent record of honesty and civic responsibility.

Elsewhere in the nation, other cities also elected mayors, the most notable contests taking place in Boston, Detroit, Cleveland, and Pittsburgh. In Detroit, CIO leader Richard Frankenstein failed to break the six-year hold of Mayor Edward J. Jeffries on popular loyalty.

## The Indies Hold Out

Thus far, all British and Dutch efforts to force the Indonesians back into their colonial role have been fruitless. As the struggle goes on, defenders of Dutch authority in the East Indies are extending bigger threats and bigger promises to the rebellious nationalists. The Indonesians, however, seem determined to hold out for complete independence.

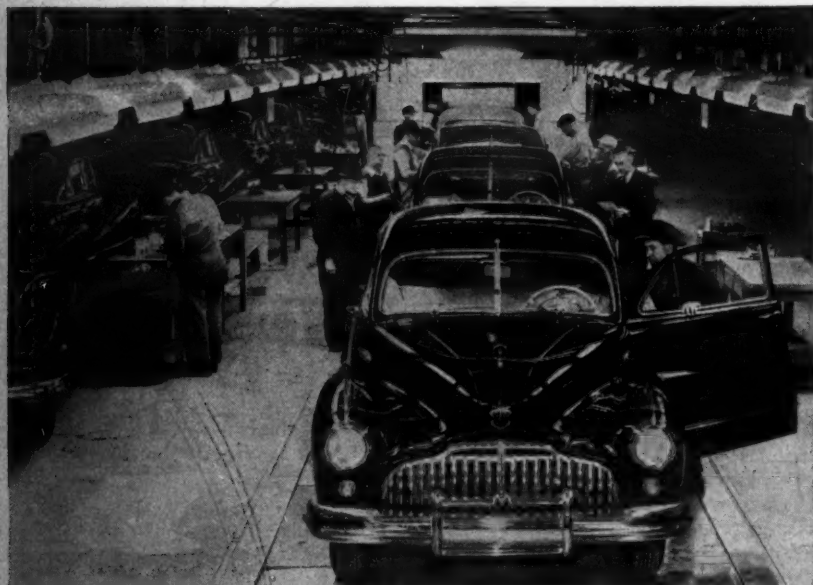
The Dutch, for their part, have



**Dr. Achmed Soekarno, president of the Indonesian Republic**

offered Indonesia home rule and a partnership in a new Netherlands Commonwealth of Nations. According to Dr. Hubertus van Mook, acting governor-general of the Indies, this would mean the establishment of an Indonesian government with a predominantly Indonesian legislature and a Council of Ministers under a Dutch governor-general. The Dutch pledge themselves to inaugurate the new arrangement as soon as peace is restored and the nationalists give up their arms.

The British, whose superior forces have given them the military responsibility for reestablishing Dutch authority, have threatened the Indonesians with all-out war if they do not surrender their arms. Major General E. C. Mansergh, commander of Allied forces in the eastern part of Java, has



Although labor troubles and other reconversion difficulties have kept automobile production below early estimates, it is now moving forward. New Buicks, shown above, are rolling from the assembly line in the factories at Flint, Michigan, in increasing numbers, with 10,000 scheduled for this month.



**DISPLACED PERSONS.** With millions of Germans flocking westward from Russian and Polish controlled areas, the Allied Control Commission is confronted by serious problems. Members of one German family are shown here in a Berlin station, waiting for a continuation of their journey.

warned that unless the Indonesians surrender, all Allied land, sea, and air power in the area will be turned against them.

Dr. Achmed Soekarno, president of the rebel-proclaimed Indonesian republic, has refused to heed either the Dutch or the British. He has refused even to discuss the Dutch offer, which would give his people a status similar to that of the Indians, and he has answered British warnings by mobilizing Indonesian forces in central Java.

Although the independence movement in the East Indies embraces many different factions, it is unified in its opposition to the return of the Dutch. Even the peasant population, which is ordinarily rather indifferent to political matters, has, in large part, given its loyalty to Soekarno and the cause he represents.

### Tolerance Advances

Three recent incidents testify that, however slow and difficult the process, the cause of racial and religious tolerance is advancing. In the United States, two Negroes were given jobs never before held by members of their race. In Canada, a Supreme Court justice handed down a decision outlawing discriminatory clauses in property deeds.

The first of the two Negroes, Jack Roosevelt Robinson, an athlete with an All-American record in football and an equally impressive rating as a baseball player for a Negro American League team, was signed up as a shortstop for the Brooklyn Dodgers. Previously, big league baseball had accepted colored players only if they were light-skinned enough to be palmed off as Indians, Cubans, or, indeed, anything but Negroes. So little tolerance has existed in parts of the baseball world that, until recently, some clubs did not even allow Negroes in their grandstands.

The second Negro, Irvin C. Mollison, Chicago lawyer and civic leader, became the first colored judge to preside over a federal court within the continental United States. Although two other Negroes were selected for federal judgeships during President Roosevelt's administration, they were assigned to courts in the Virgin Islands.

In Canada, the question of discrimi-

natory property deeds came up when the Workers' Educational Association of Canada bought a lot in Toronto, hoping to build a house on it and raffle it off. It was discovered that the deed to the lot provided that it might not be sold to "Jews or persons of objectionable nationality."

When the Association contested the deed, Justice Keiller MacKay ruled the clause invalid as "offensive to public policy," citing the Atlantic Charter, the United Nations Charter, an anti-discrimination resolution passed at the Chapultepec Conference, and statements by most of the top world leaders in support of his decision. Justice MacKay's ruling automatically voids all other discriminatory clauses in property deeds throughout Ontario.

### Controlling Japan

The big question confronting the Far Eastern Advisory Commission, now meeting in Washington, is whether or not the United States should share its control of Japan with the other Pacific powers, particularly Russia. As things stand now, Russia, Britain, China, France, the Netherlands, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and the Philippines are permitted to help gather information about con-

ditions in Japan but play no part in the actual control of the country. It is General MacArthur and his staff who make all key decisions affecting occupation policy.

The justification for assigning top responsibility to the United States in the control of Japan is the fact that our forces were mainly responsible for defeating her. Russia and the other Pacific nations feel, however, that their interest in Japan should be recognized by a voice in policy-making for her control.

The Russians have suggested a compromise which would set up a new four-power control council composed of representatives of Britain, Russia, and China as well as the United States. The proposed council would recognize our interest as the dominant one in Japan and would be permanently headed by an American. At the same time, it would foster the idea of inter-Allied cooperation more than the present arrangement.

### Italian Armistice

After two years of frequently challenged secrecy, the Italian armistice has been made public. Its release, however, answers few of the significant questions affecting Italy's future. Following closely the line laid down in the Casablanca doctrine of unconditional surrender, it deals mainly with the technical details of placing Italy's resources under Allied control until final peace terms are agreed upon.

Nowhere does the armistice tell what is to happen to the Italian colonies. It does not specify the amount or kind of reparations the country will be required to pay. And it does not mention the Allied attitude toward the Italian monarchy. In fact, the only disputable point covered by it is the provision that the Italian fleet shall be completely surrendered to the Allies. The Italians have objected to this because of the fact that they cooperated with the United Nations against Germany after their capitulation.

Since September, 1943, when armistice terms were first laid down for Italy, the Allies have modified their demands on the country several times. It is now hinted that, pending a final peace settlement, the terms may be softened still further. Throughout the period preceding publication of the

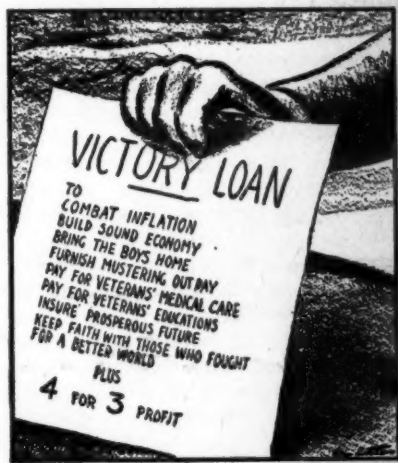
armistice, Allied authorities defended their policy of secrecy on grounds that, if published, the armistice might provide fuel for enemy propaganda.

### Russia and Turkey

The old quarrel between Russia and Turkey over the Dardanelles—the straits connecting the Black Sea and the Mediterranean by way of the Aegean—has come up again with Russia's renewed demands that the Montreux Convention be liberalized. The Montreux Convention recognizes the rights of other nations besides Turkey to use the straits but leaves the dominant share of their control in Turkish hands.

What the Russians are now asking is a new arrangement whereby the straits will be under the general supervision of the United Nations Organization. Within that framework, the Russian government wants guarantees that the straits will never be closed to her.

Along with the Dardanelles question, another issue is currently disturbing Russo-Turkish relations. It is the problem of three districts in north-



LITTLE IN CHICAGO SUN  
Is a sales talk needed?

eastern Turkey known as the Kars region. Russia ceded these to Turkey in 1921 and is now asking their return because of their importance as a transportation center and a rich source of minerals.

### Civilian Production Board

With the scrapping of the War Production Board, a new alphabetical agency has come into prominence in Washington. It is the Civilian Production Agency, which is headed by former WPB chief of staff John D. Small and scheduled to take over the functions of its predecessor agency. Although WPB's job was drastically pared down after the war ended and most controls over strategic materials were removed, the new agency will figure importantly in reconversion, preventing industrial bottlenecks by its supervision of certain key operations of the economy.

The WPB, parent of the CPA, came into being a bare month after Pearl Harbor, succeeding two less powerful agencies for the mobilization of our economic resources. The first attempt to create a body to direct production for defense came in 1940, when the National Defense Advisory Committee was established. Late that year, the more powerful Office of Production Management was created. But only under the WPB was our full material strength harnessed for war.

## S M I L E S

Officer: Hey, lady! Pull over to the curb. Don't you know you were doing seventy-five?

Lady: Isn't it marvelous! And I just learned to drive yesterday.

★ ★ ★

Irate Father: Willie—can you carry a tune?

Willie: Sure, Pop.

I.F.: Well, carry the one you're whistling out in the back yard and bury it.

★ ★ ★

Soph: I'd like you to come over and have dinner with me.

Prof: Thank you but it won't be necessary. Your class work is already satisfactory.

★ ★ ★

English Prof: The sentence, "My father had money" is in the past tense. What tense would it be if the sentence read: "My father has money?"

Junior: Pretense.

★ ★ ★

Aunt Emma: Your uncle will be here for lunch, Junior—so run and wash your face.

Junior: Okay, Aunt—but supposing he doesn't come?

Sunday School Teacher: You musn't laugh out loud in Sunday school, Henry.

Henry: I'm sorry. I was just smiling—and it broke.

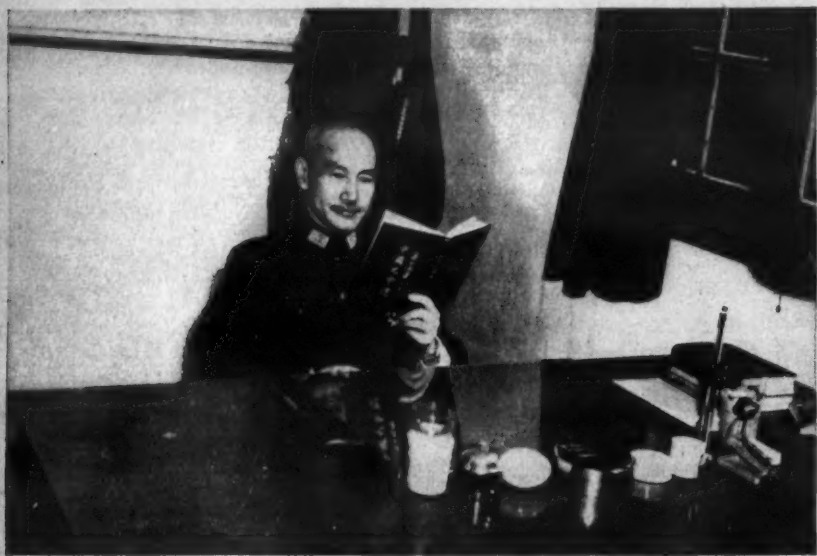
★ ★ ★

Teacher: Henry, tell me how many revolutions the earth makes in a day.

Henry: I can't tell until I see the afternoon paper.



ERICSON IN AMERICAN MAGAZINE  
"I bet President Truman didn't pout when he took piano lessons."



Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek

### The Generalissimo

## Chiang Kai-shek

ONE of the most controversial figures prominent in international affairs today is the leader of China's national government, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. He has been variously described as the saviour of China and as a harsh, ruthless, and reactionary dictator. Since news coming out of China is likely to be highly colored on one side or the other, we must depend upon the known facts concerning Chiang's career in making our estimate of him.

The military career which formed the basis of Chiang Kai-shek's rise to power began when he was little more than a boy. His father, a wine merchant in Chekiang province, having died when Chiang was only nine years old, the boy ran away and joined the provincial army when relatives tried to place him in a trade school. His marriage at the age of 15 was in accordance with traditional Chinese custom at the time. When he won first place in examinations for entrance into a military school, his mother agreed to care for his wife and son so that he could continue his military training. He showed such promise that he was afterward sent to a military college in Tokyo.

It was during his study in Japan that Chiang Kai-shek first heard the great Chinese revolutionist, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, and his moving arguments for a free and democratic China immediately aroused the interest of the young soldier. Returning to China, Chiang joined the forces of Sun Yat-sen and commanded a regiment in the revolution which overthrew the corrupt monarchy. For some years his fortunes rose and fell with the status of the revolutionary cause. At one time he was a penniless clerk in Shanghai, at another, a promising young army officer.

Finally a wealthy patron sent Chiang south with a letter of introduction to Sun Yat-sen. The meeting which followed determined the course of Chiang Kai-shek's loyalties from that time until Sun Yat-sen's death in 1925. Chiang's later marriage to Soong Mei-ling, American-educated sister of Dr. Sun's wife, resulted in his becoming a Christian and established strong ties with the Soong family, one of the richest and most powerful in China.

Dr. Sun was impressed by the bril-

liance of the young officer, and when Russia proved friendly toward the revolutionaries, sent him to Moscow to study Soviet political methods as well as military organization. When he returned, Chiang became head of the new Whampoa Military Academy. There he directed the training of many of the officers who later formed the nucleus of his army.

When Chiang's young revolutionary soldiers saved the day for Dr. Sun's threatened Canton government, their teacher was made commander-in-chief of the Kuomintang (Nationalist) Army. He remained in this post after the death of the great revolutionary leader, strengthening his political influence as he won battle after battle against the war lords who had to be subdued before the Kuomintang could carry out its major purpose—the unification of China.

Dr. Sun had thought of the revolution in China as based on three principles—nationalism, democracy, and the improvement of the people's livelihood. He had made good use of experienced Russian Communist organizers in preaching these ideals throughout China. One of these, Michael Borodin, was used after his death to win peasant support for the Nationalist cause. However, Chiang's first concern was always unification, and he allowed nothing to interfere with his plans to achieve it. When the peasants demanded fulfillment of Borodin's promises concerning abolition of excessive taxes and better distribution of land, Chiang became alarmed.

This occurred in the late twenties when Chiang had just completed the Northern Punitive Expedition which unified China militarily. But instead of converting this military unification into a permanent political one, Chiang chose to break with the communists.

During the next 10 years, with the support of the Shanghai bankers and internationalists whom he had earlier threatened to dislodge, Chiang used his war against the communists to strengthen his own position. He became the acknowledged leader of the Nationalist government and the supreme commander of its armed forces. Finally, however, when war with Japan came, Chiang and the communists arranged a truce which was not openly violated until after Japan's defeat.

### Communist Leader

## Mao Tse-tung

THE Chinese communist most frequently mentioned in relation to China's internal dissension is the political leader, Mao Tse-tung. Now the recognized leader of a faction which Chiang Kai-shek would prefer to have eliminated from the Chinese political scene, Mao Tse-tung was at one time a member of the same revolutionary army with which Chiang Kai-shek fought. Sun Yat-sen, the founder of the Chinese Republic, was the leader who inspired both young men to devote their lives to building a strong, united China.

Mao Tse-tung was born only four years after Chiang Kai-shek, in 1893, in Hunan province, the son of a poor but ambitious peasant. After a term of army service which freed him of debts, Mao's father came home and by forcing his wife and children to live in a painfully meager fashion, managed to save money and buy land until he achieved the status of a rich peasant. He was a harsh man, and Mao suffered under his stern rule and the strict discipline imposed upon him at school until he was 10, when he ran away. Although his father relented somewhat when he returned, Mao remained in school only until he was 13 years old, at which time he was put to work on the farm doing the work of a grown man from dawn until dusk.

In spite of the rigid discipline to which he had been subjected during his early school years, Mao had been an avid scholar, developing a taste for reading outside the Confucian writings and the other classics which were regularly studied. When he had a chance to return to school at the age of 16 he did so, adding modern subjects such as science to his interests. He was graduated, entered what was called a "middle" school in Changsha, capital of his province, but soon became convinced that he should join Sun Yat-sen's army. During this period he read everything he could find on the subjects of socialism and Marxism.

From 1912 until 1918 Mao lived the life of a mildly revolutionary student while attending the Hunan Normal School, supposedly preparing himself for a teaching career. By 1920 he had become active in student groups interested in breaking away from the rigidity of life and thinking which had characterized the Chinese culture for centuries. Having prepared himself by thorough reading of Darwin, Adam Smith, Rousseau, and Spencer, as well as representative poetry and fiction, Mao became a member of a philosophy and journalism society in Peking (now Peiping) where he met many other Chinese students and leaders who were dissatisfied with China's semi-feudal society.

His ties with the Communist Party in China date from its founding in Shanghai in 1920. Immediately afterward, Mao became a trade union organizer, doing such effective work that he became a worker in the

Central Committee of the Communist Party.

In April 1927, Chiang Kai-shek, who had risen to power in the Kuomintang, broke with the communists and instituted widespread massacres in his attempts to disband them. Mao Tse-tung became active in organizing a Peasants' and Workers' army and early the next year joined forces with the communist military leader, Chu Teh (now military head of the 8th Route Army and the New Fourth Army opposing Nationalist troops).

When the first All-China Congress of Soviets met to form the Soviet Republic of China in 1931 Mao Tse-tung was elected chairman. When the Japanese invaded Manchuria, Mao became convinced that the struggle against Japan was of first importance and called for an end to civil war and establishment of a united front against the enemy. His plea was fruitless, and the communists decided to conduct a mass removal to the north.

The 6,000 mile trek which followed, known as the Long March, was one of the greatest migrations of history. Mao walked with the army and the people most of the way from Kiangsi, where the march began, to Yenan, where it ended a year later.

Establishing themselves in the north, the communists finally won over neighboring Kuomintang troops, some of whom mutinied and proceeded to kidnap Chiang Kai-shek in the famous "Sian Incident." After his release, Chiang established a united front with the communists, and the Red Army became the 8th Route Army under the command of Chu Teh.

Although this army fought most effectively against the Japanese, the threat of civil war has never ceased to hang over China. Accusations have been tossed back and forth between the communists and the Nationalist government in Chungking. Mao Tse-tung has insisted that his party wants a real democracy in China with a two-party government, but all attempts at reconciliation of the aims of the two Chinese leaders have failed up to now.



Mao Tse-tung



Resources of the United States

NEW YORK TIMES

# America's Dwindling Natural Resources

(Concluded from page 1)

the 135,000,000 people now living within our borders."

The American people have learned during the war what it means to have to get along without sufficient quantities of vital minerals. It means a lower standard of living. It means that we cannot have all the gasoline, automobiles, electric irons, refrigerators, and hundreds of other products which we have come to depend upon. The shortages of these things during the war, of course, were only of a temporary nature, but they may become permanent in the years ahead.

If we use up too much of our natural wealth, not only will American standards of living decline, but this country will also lose its power and influence in world affairs. Other nations will know that our industrial and military strength is on the decline. As Mr. Ickes says, if another major war breaks out in 20 or 30 years, we shall not have sufficient mineral wealth to engage in such a conflict for any length of time.

While our natural resources have been "eaten up" at a much more rapid rate during the war than in peacetime, the situation has nevertheless been growing serious for a number of years. During most of our history, little attention has been paid to the serious wastage of the nation's rich resources.

Year after year, decade after decade, as the nation became industrialized, huge quantities of precious possessions were taken from the soil. It was assumed that our natural wealth was unlimited and inexhaustible. Because of this false notion, each generation has sought to enrich itself, with little thought being given to long-range national welfare or to succeeding generations.

In the quest for riches, vast amounts of petroleum and gas were destroyed.

The destructive methods which were used in cutting down a large proportion of our best forests mark one of the most shameful chapters in American history. And so it has been with other vital resources, including the soil which produces the very food upon which the national safety and well-being depend to such a large extent.

It is difficult, indeed, to measure accurately the extent of the destruction of the nation's natural resources through greed and carelessness. In his excellent book, *Men and Resources*, which was written before we entered the war, Professor J. Russell Smith gives us an idea of the seriousness of the problem. He says:

"The American people became wasters, the greatest wasters in the world. Every year the United States has less good land than the year before. Every year the United States has less of useful minerals and less wood than the year before. . . . If we continue to destroy, waste, burn, and throw away valuable things as we have for the last hundred years, the United States cannot be a permanent country."

The National Resources Board, which is no longer in existence, reported that in 1934, "enough gas was being wasted in a single oil field to supply all the gas then used in American homes." Reckless methods of producing oil have wasted more of this vital product, according to reliable experts, than the nation has used. Improper methods of farming have caused erosion and have damaged, in varying degrees, at least half of the total farming area of the nation.

Until Theodore Roosevelt became president, little progress was made in the direction of conserving our natural resources. The federal government,

under his direction, took steps to co-operate with the states in dealing with this problem. Individuals were urged to give up wasteful methods of farming, of cutting timber, and of extracting vital minerals from the soil.

This program was carried forward under Franklin D. Roosevelt's administrations. The government worked in still closer cooperation with state conservation agencies. A National Resources Board was set up to study the whole problem and recommend action from year to year. Furthermore, the attempt was made for the first time (in the Tennessee Valley) to develop the farming, mineral, and forest resources of an entire region along scientific lines.

The war, however, practically halted the nation's conservation efforts. Vast amounts of minerals and food had to be taken from the earth with the greatest possible speed—with little thought to avoiding waste. As a result, we have made far heavier than usual inroads on our supplies of oil, iron, and other vital minerals.

According to Secretary of the Interior Ickes, "we have less than a 35-year peacetime commercial supply of 21 minerals." Included among these are oil, copper, lead, zinc, sulphur, natural gas, silver, bauxite, vanadium, antimony, tungsten, platinum, asbestos, manganese, chromite, and nickel. Furthermore, Mr. Ickes says, we are gradually running short of high-grade coking coals, "without which it is difficult to make steel," and also of the better-quality iron ores.

Is there anything that can be done to prevent the exhaustion of minerals upon which we depend so vitally in war and peace? Secretary Ickes makes a number of suggestions, among which are the following:

1. When more minerals are pro-

duced in this country than can be sold, place the surplus in stockpiles. Buy foreign minerals to add to these stockpiles. In that way, if our foreign supply of critical materials should be cut off in wartime, we would have huge reserves stored away for the emergency.

2. Make a greater effort than ever before to discover new sources of minerals in the United States.

3. Spend considerable sums of money on developing better scientific methods of recovering metals from scrap and on improving the quality of low-grade minerals.

4. Scientific research should also be carried on extensively in the effort to find substitutes for essential minerals.

Such, in brief, is the program recommended by Secretary Ickes. He says that a genuine national conservation program will cost a great deal of money. Moreover, it is a fact that such a program will require the government to regulate more closely the way in which individuals and corporations make use of our natural resources. Wasteful methods of mining and farming will have to be eliminated. If vigorous plans along this line are not carried out, however, the nation may pay the penalty in the not too distant future.

Not only must the American people adopt a far-reaching program of conservation of their natural resources in order to stave off national disaster, but they must also work tirelessly to insure peace. Billions upon billions of tons of our most vital mineral resources have been forever exhausted as a result of the great demands of the war which has just ended. Another war, as we have been warned, might find us in the position of not having the resources necessary to build the weapons required for victory.

# Suggested Study Guide for Students

## U. S. Resources

1. What warning was recently issued to the American people by Bernard Baruch?
2. In what magazine did Harold Ickes, Secretary of the Interior, make a similar warning?
3. True or false: "During most of our history, little attention has been paid to the serious wastage of the nation's rich resources." Explain.
4. Who was the first President to take seriously the problem of conserving our resources?
5. What steps were taken along this line before the present war?
6. How did the war interfere with this program?
7. We have less than a 35-year known supply of how many minerals, according to Secretary of the Interior Ickes?
8. What are some of the suggestions which he and Bernard Baruch make for dealing with this problem?

## Discussion

Congress, under the leadership of the late President Roosevelt, created a National Resources Planning Board. That agency made surveys of the nation's agricultural, timber, and mineral resources. It recommended action which should be taken by the federal government and states to encourage less wasteful methods of farming, mining, and foresting.

As time went on, the Board was increasingly criticized and attacked. Some of its critics claimed its activities were useless. Others said that its recommendations, if carried out, would give the government too much power over farmers, mine owners, and other individuals and corporations. The government, it was held, should not try to plan the use of the nation's resources—such an attempt would do more harm than good.

Finally, as a result of widespread criticism, Congress abolished the National Resources Planning Board. Here are some questions which should be discussed in this connection:

Do you or do you not think that there should be a national resources planning agency to advise Congress and the nation?

In cases where individuals or corporations are adopting wasteful methods in making use of valuable resources, what, if anything, do you believe the government should do about it?

The Tennessee Valley Authority, with headquarters in Knoxville, Tennessee, studies and advises the best use of that region's natural resources.

Do you feel that it would be a good or bad policy for other regions of the country to set up similar planning agencies?

Do you have any ideas on how the nation should go about the task of conserving its resources?

## Reading

We recommend the following magazine articles on conservation of our natural resources:

"The War and Our Vanishing Resources," by Harold Ickes, *The American Magazine*, December, 1945.

"Our Mineral Resources and Security," by E. W. Pehrson, *Foreign Affairs*, July, 1945.

"Saving the Soil," by A. Moore, *Atlantic*, April, 1945.

"That Wonderful Stuff Called Wood," by C. R. Wickard, *Saturday Evening Post*, November 25, 1944.

"Our Limitless Resources," by D. W. Clark, *American Mercury*, July, 1944.

## China

1. Who is the outstanding leader of the Chinese Communists, and where is the capital of their government?

2. About how many people live in the Communist-dominated area?

3. In what part of China is most of the fighting taking place between the Communists and the forces of the national government?

4. What is the position of the Chiang Kai-shek government in this dispute?

5. How do the Communists argue their case?

6. What hope is there that a peaceful solution may still be worked out?

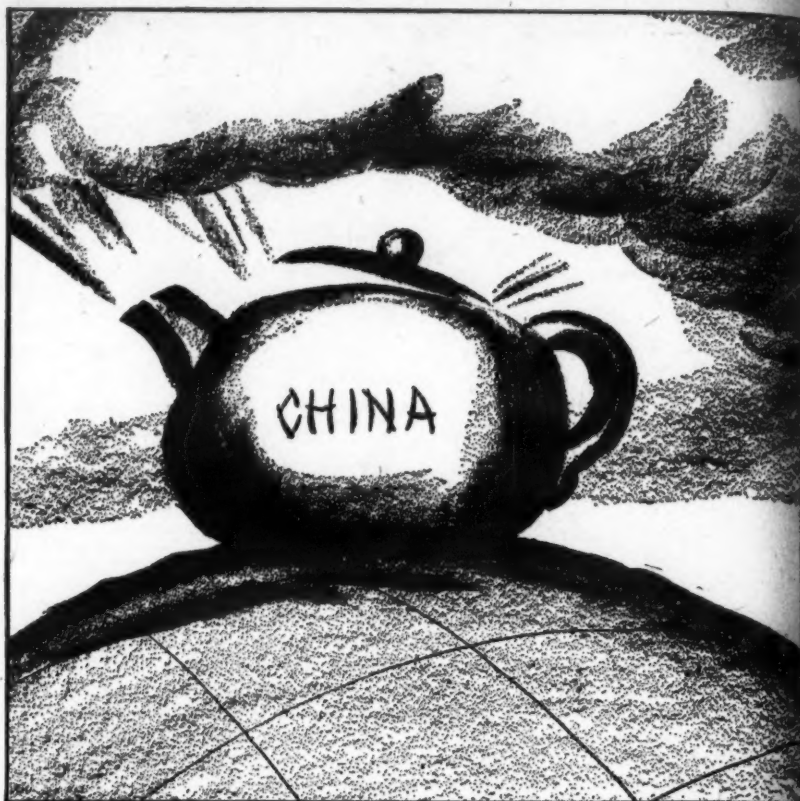
7. How might the trouble in China produce a serious conflict among Russia, Britain, and the United States?

## Discussion

American lend-lease weapons, which we supplied to our Allies during the war, are now being used by participants in armed conflict in various parts of the world. The national government in China is using these weapons against the Chinese Communists; the British and Dutch in the East Indies are using them against natives, and a group of Venezuelan rebels recently used them to overthrow the government.

Do you think our country should insist that these weapons not be used for such purposes, or do you feel that it would cause more harm than good to adopt this policy?

If China appears to be headed for a prolonged civil war, what do you think our government should do about



Tempest in a big teapot

FITZPATRICK IN ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

it? Do you believe that we should let the conflicting forces fight it out, or do you feel that it would be too dangerous to do so?

## Reading

"Political Pressures in Asia," by Owen Lattimore, *Atlantic*, February, 1945.

"Our Ally China," by W. H. Judd, *Time*, June 18, 1945. This article was condensed in *Reader's Digest*, September, 1945.

"Must China Go Red?" by Edgar Snow, *Saturday Evening Post*, May 12, 1945.

"China's Civil Conflict," by A. Roth, *New Republic*, August 27, 1945.

"Deadlock in China," by Nathaniel Peffer, *Harper's*, September, 1945.

"The Fate of the World Is at Stake in China," by Max Eastman and J. B. Powell, *Reader's Digest*, June, 1945.

While there are scores of recent books on China, one of the best is Owen Lattimore's *Solution in Asia* (Boston: Little, Brown, \$2). Few authors have a better understanding of China and its problems than Mr. Lattimore. He has spent years studying the Far East and was for a time political adviser to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek.

In his book, Mr. Lattimore traces the origins of the conflict between the Chinese communists and the government of Chiang. Despite his former association with the Generalissimo, he is eminently detached in his approach to the controversy. He avoids the mistake of so many authors; that is, of interpreting the dispute in terms of ideological differences, but rather emphasizes the economic bases and political programs of each group. Although brief, this book affords excellent background material for the student of present-day China.

## Miscellaneous

1. What three recent incidents have tended to promote the cause of racial and religious tolerance? Do you know of any similar development in

your community during recent months?

2. What offer have the Dutch made to the inhabitants of the Netherlands Indies? What has been the reaction of the natives? Who is Achmed Soekarno and what role is he playing in the dispute?

3. How are the British figuring in the present dispute in the Netherlands Indies?

4. What recommendation has been made by former Governor Harold E. Stassen for future control of the atomic bomb?

5. According to Secretary of Agriculture Clinton B. Anderson, what is the main difficulty standing in the way of increasing our shipment of food to needy countries?

6. True or false: The terms of the Italian armistice, recently made public, deal in considerable detail with the disposition of the Italian colonies.

7. Who has been elected mayor of New York City, to replace Fiorello La Guardia?

8. What suggestion have the Russians made for the control of Japan?

9. Name some of the principal obstacles to industrial harmony which came to the fore during the early days of the labor-management conference in Washington.

## Pronunciations

Chiang Kai-shek—jee'ong' ki' shek—  
as in ice

Chu Teh—choo' tay'

Chekiang—joo'yahng'

Hopei—hoe'pay'

Hunan—hoo'nahn'

Hupei—hoo'beh'

Kiangsi—jyahng'see'

kaoliang—kah-oe-lee-ang'

Kuomintang—gwoe'min-tahng'

loess—loe'es

Mao Tse-tung—mow' tseh' toong'

Mei-ling—may'ling'

Peiping—bay'ping'

Sikang—shee'kahng'

Sinkiang—shin'yahng'

Suiyuan—soi'ywahn'

Sun Yat-sen—soon' yaht' sen'

Tientsin—tin'tsin'

Yangtze—yahng'tseh'

Yenan—yeh'nahn'



Harold L. Ickes

HARRIS & EWING



Bernard M. Baruch

HARRIS & EWING